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**CHAPTER OUTLINE**

**STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS**

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SPECIALIZED TRAINING BRANCH  
COMMUNIST PARTY OPERATIONS COURSE  
LECTURE OUTLINE

Structure and Functions of Party Organs

Clandestine Organization (Underground)

Like the iceberg which has seven-eighths of its bulk under water with only one-eighth visible, the strength of every CP is mainly underground and out of sight.

**I. Introduction:**

Communists shall everywhere create a PARALLEL ILLEGAL APPARATUS, which at the decisive moment should be of assistance to the Party in its duty toward revolution. (Resolved by 2nd Congress 1920)

The Communist Parties must be prepared for transition to illegal conditions. The E C C I must render the parties concerned assistance in their preparations for transition to illegal conditions. ( Article 25- Constitution of the COMINFORM)

The following excerpts from official Communist sources will clarify the problem to be discussed in this lecture.

The Official Organ of the COMINFORM—"The Communist International", on September 1, 1931, published detailed instructions on measures to be taken in a country where opposition to Communism

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rises to the stage of restrictive legislation.

The instructions called "Organizational Problems in Underground Revolutionary Work", by B. Vasilev quote:

"the increasing artfulness of the police apparatus of the bourgeois governments in these struggles against the COMMUNIST MOVEMENT makes it essential for the latter to have more complicated, flexible and accurately functioning organization. This organization will inevitably have to rely on a STRONG CONSPIRATIVE APPARATUS, supplemented by widely adopted methods of LEGAL PARTY WORK."

1. The Party will have to rely on a strong conspirative apparatus which will be supplemented by such open activities as may still be legal in some countries;
2. Although police measures may increase pressure, the legal position MUST NOT BE ABANDONED wherever it still exists.
3. Alongside the still legally functioning Party, AN UNDERGROUND APPARATUS MUST BE CREATED, if it does not already exist, PARALLEL to the LEGAL ORGANIZATION.

This will enable the CLANDESTINE GROUP TO TAKE OVER IMMEDIATELY AND WITHOUT INTERRUPTION when the LEGAL work becomes ILLEGAL.

4. But the underground should not be so perfectly hidden that it loses contact with the toiling masses and degenerates into academic conspiracy. Hence, contact must be maintained

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by means of the local Party newspaper, village correspondents, by the COMMUNIST FRACTIONS in PARLIAMENTS, in MUNICIPAL BODIES, MUSICAL CLUBS, MATHEMATICAL SOCIETIES, SPORT CLUBS, FREETHINKER GROUPS, etc. A NEW NAME MUST BE READY for the PARTY NEWSPAPER in case it is suppressed.

5. All members of the Party engaged in this conspiratorial work must act AS IF THEY WERE NOT MEMBERS OF THE PARTY; in SECRET MEETINGS of the nuclei the REAL NAMES OF MEMBERS SHOULD NOT BE USED, only PSEUDONYMS.
6. In anticipation of bourgeois resistance to possible arrest of known leaders of the CP, a SECOND STRING of SECRET OFFICIALS MUST BE PREPARED for the underground work; safe buildings must be chosen for storing the Party archives and to HOUSE ILLEGAL PRINTING PRESSES; SECRET MEETING PLACES must be chosen; CODES WORKED OUT; and a chain of EFFICIENT STATIONS for DELIVERY OF CORRESPONDENCE—(Letter Drops)".

II. In accordance with above instructions every CP in the past took appropriate measures to assure complete readiness in repression or complete suppression and/or outlawing when it must carry out functions under conditions adapted to underground activities.

- A. Of course, every CP prefers LEGALITY because:
  1. The AGITPROP may be overt ( Daily press, etc.)
  2. Front Organizations may be set up at will
  3. Ability to demonstrate drawing power during elections
  4. Much easier operations in Labor Unions

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5. May enter the government the way of "democratic" process
6. Ability to marshal public opinion
7. Ability to obtain defense attorneys
8. Solicit moral support of fraternal CP's including VCP(b)
9. Delay transfer to illegality
10. Fight against paralyzation by police actions, etc.

B. All CP's are adapted to suppression and can survive because:

1. An organizational adaptability and mastery over a mass of practical technicalities ( Short History of the VCP(b) )
  - a. Developed CADRE SYSTEM —professional leaders, trained and paid by the Party
  - b. Cell system keeps active and in touch with the MASSES
  - c. Front organisations conceal control
2. Background of conspiratorial techniques (knows what to do and how to go about it, Revolutionary Competence)
  - a. Defensive against police, intelligence agencies, hostile groups and public, etc.
  - b. Offensive: Political action, etc.
3. Application of Communist theory as morale builder under suppression (too much police pressure forces masses to radical measures)
4. Centralisation—control by a small group
5. Endurance

III. Prerequisites for clandestine activities:

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- A. Mass support, without which no contemplated insurrectionary action may succeed
- B. Political climate prevailing in a particular country; i.e., political movements in the colonies, etc.
- C. Selection of Front Organizations to attract accessible groups, including successful solution of the concealment problem of Party control of the organizations
- D. Setting-up of CE and Intelligence organizations in relation to future Insurrectionary Action; this includes strategic economic intelligence
- E. Setting-up of the Military Organization within the Security and other Forces (Secret Party Committees) Subversion
- F. Concentration on the procurement information which would clarify the ~~organization~~ and capabilities of the MCSTU POWER MECHANISM
- G. Plans for successive action against hostile individuals traitors and insecure party members, including physical elimination.

IV. Preparations for clandestine activities : (going underground)

- A. Training of relatively unknown party members to take "front" positions within the Party (second string)
- B. Establishment of new courier and communications systems, (instructions how to appoint liaison officers)
- C. Preparation of false identity cards for the use of more important members, etc.

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- D. Procurement of printing and reproduction facilities
- E. "Going on vacation and not returning", etc.
- F. Security:
  - 1. Tightening of security measures from HQ to cell level
  - 2. Instructions on meetings ( how to call or cancel meetings)
  - 3. Instructions how to conduct loyalty checks of CP members
  - 4. Instructions how to increase general vigilance against the Government securing information on the Party; other.

V. Capabilities of clandestine activities

- A. Espionage: military, political, scientific, etc.;
- B. Courier systems: Couriers for transmission of resultant information to channels through which it can reach its destination;
- C. Safe houses: for personnel engaged in clandestine activities
- D. Location of new CP (clandestine) centers in neighboring countries
- E. Strikes: slow-downs, work stoppages, etc.
- F. Sabotage of:
  - 1. Power sources
  - 2. Basic industries
  - 3. Sources of raw materials
  - 4. Military equipment (especially front lines equipment).
- G. Disruption of:
  - 1. Power transmission
  - 2. Transportation

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**3. Communications.**

**II. Armen, Germ and Chemical Warfare**

**I. Political Actions ( and PW)**

1. Agitation against the actions of the government
2. Creating fear and mass hysteria
3. Supporting pacifism, neutralism and other similar trends
4. Discrediting, confusing, and pressuring government leadership
5. Creating distrust of allies, etc.

**K. Subversion**

1. Encouraging absenteeism, etc.
2. Permitting violence, race riots, etc.
3. Permitting disorder and inciting disobedience within the armed forces.
4. Creating confusion and dissatisfaction among troops (such as giving orders for retreat)

**VI. Organizational and operational problems:**

Long break down reduces PARTY into isolated NUCLEI which can only maintain their CLANDESTINE EXISTENCE FOR THE DAY WHEN THE PARTY MAY BE REVIVED.

BACKLOG OF CONSPIRATORIAL EXPERIENCE—Shaped through the COMINTERN by the Soviets (Technical Apparatus) ORGEBUREAU, YAVKA (Clandestine reporting place) , TROIKA ( team of three) prior to 1943.

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A. Fundamental problem for CP going UNDERGROUND

HOW TO COMBINE MAXIMUM SECURITY WITH MAXIMUM ACTIVITY; HOW TO EXPOSE ITS AGENTS AND FUNCTIONARIES TO THE POLICE AS LITTLE AS POSSIBLE.

1. Reduction of PARTY Apparatus —determined by the size of the Party, severity of repression; action taken within these lines:

a. CONSOLIDATION OF TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATIONS,

(region, district, subdistrict, section )

( 28 "Zirkle in Germ CP-1933 reduced to 8 inter-regional organizations ZENTRZIRKE)

CELLS BROKEN INTO SMALLER GROUPS

b. REDUCTION OF STAFFS

No more than 5 people, must be elastic

2. THE COMMAND FUNCTION (THE TRIAD SYSTEM-TROIKA) on all levels from NATIONAL to CELL level.

LIVE CHAIN OF COMMAND consisted of:

a. A specialist for POLARK

b. A specialist for ORGPROBLEMS

c. A specialist for AGITPROP & LABOR WORK

Sub cells—each CELL member directing three more non-members.

3. COMPARTMENTALIZATION is an organization and security problem of the FIRST ORDER to prevent POLICE from learning too much when PARTY members or functionaries are arrested.

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- a. PARTY AND MILITARY BRANCH: this staff is kept distinct from PARTY'S POLITICAL MECHANISM
- b. PARTY & AUXILIARY (front) ORGANIZATION  
(Youth Organizations, Women's, etc.) remain connected with the PARTY through INTERLOCKING PERSONNEL ONLY. They function on their own as independently as possible.
- c. PARTY & AUXILIARY ILLEGAL ORGANIZATIONS  
(Teams, brigades--for OE, International Penetration, terror groups are largely INDEPENDENT and SELF-CONTAINED GROUPS
- d. INTERNAL PARTY COMPARTMENTALIZATION (within the PARTY proper)
  - (1) ELIMINATION OF HORIZONTAL LIAISON (no contact with original structure on same level)  
ONLY VERTICAL with designated functionary of the superior organization.
  - (2) RESTRICTION OF CONTACTS: Principle: The fewer contacts a functionary or activist knows the better
  - (3) FUNCTIONAL RESTRICTIONS: The COMRADES OF TROIKA MUST NOT KNOW ANYTHING BUT WHAT REFERS TO THEIR WORK PROPER.—French Instruction 1941
  - (4) ELECTION OF PARTY COMMITTEE  
Where possible must take place in restricted Conferences and the elections themselves handled

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in such a way that even the CONFERENCE members  
WOULD NOT KNOW WHO WAS ELECTED

(a) Election of C. Committee

Election abroad is ONE WAY OF CIRCUMVENTING  
SECURITY RESTRICTIONS AT HOME when the PARTY  
is underground. (Greece, Spain)

(b) TERRITORIAL PARTY COMMITTEES ' ELECTION  
COMMISSIONS:

(1a) Election commission chosen to be  
the PARTY for the counting of secret  
votes cast--Announces results to the  
CONFERENCE

(2a) A SMALL ELECTION COMMISSION elected  
by the PARTY Conference elects the  
NEXT PARTY COMMITTEE. The Party  
Conference does not vote for candidates  
but elects the COMMISSION

(c) CO-OPTATION

Elections of Party Committees replaced  
by or combined with CO-OPTATION (Case of  
YUG where cooptation was out of proportion  
with elections of the CC).

5. PARTY ORGANIZATION ABROAD:

Working from outside into "ILLEGAL" territory (Lenin  
in exile) Usually transferred to foreign soil are:

a. CC and all CC departments (Politburo, etc.)

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- b. FOREIGN BUREAU (Bolshevik Party Abroad & the Mussolini Era)
- c. REGIONAL SUPPORT CENTERS (CP Germany-Abschnittsleitungen)
- d. PARTY ORGANIZATIONS FOR EMIGRANTS (Emigrantenleitungen)  
Couriers, border guides, etc.
- e. SPECIAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS: Communications,  
border crossing facilities, production of printed material

6. UNDERGROUND, WHILE ILLEGAL, it normally exposes most of its cadre to the public eye.

The Compromised CADRE must be REPLACED and new personnel has to be trained:

a. THE CADRE PROBLEM

Preparatory measures must be taken (Invisible Centre) for sensitive function composed of CP leaders comparatively unknown to the police.

MOST CRUCIAL TASK applied to the ENTIRE PARTY STRUCTURE AUXILIARIES, TRADE UNIONS, AND OTHER LEGAL REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS. IF the PARTY is cut down these INVISIBLE CADRES HAVE BEEN STRATEGICALLY PLACED AND PROPERLY TRAINED hence, when the police seize the PARTY PREMISES, very little of the PARTY'S activities and few of its personnel will be revealed to them.

THE POLITICAL LEADER SHOULD NOT BE CONNECTED

WITH TECHNICAL FUNCTIONS of the PARTY (SECRETARY)

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- b. An ADEQUATE CADRE RESERVE; to be able to reconstitute the PARTY
- c. Ideological Training of the new CADRE sometimes pushed into the background by more pressing operational problems
- d. THE PROTECTION OF ILLEGAL CADRE TOP PRIORITY

VII. HOUSING AND COMMUNICATION PROBLEM

- A. Shelter for illegal Party Functionaries, fugitives, safehouses, homes of unsuspected sympathizers, crypto-Communists, etc.

1. Internal Communications— normal or TRIADS

Reporting points (YAVKA'S)

Letter drops

Contact points for couriers, etc.

2. External Communications

BORDER CROSSING MECHANISM, smugglers, bribery of officials, etc. —security considerations

3. REPORTING POINTS FOR LIAISON PERSONNEL from Abroad

B. TECHNICAL APPARATUS:

Illegal Party papers, etc.

Party Press.

VIII. Security Problem:

A. Personal Security, fictitious names , etc.

( To be good Communists under the present circumstances

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work, it seems to understand that each failure in this respect represents danger for the PARTY and veritable CRIME AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS

B. ADMINISTRATIVE SECURITY storage space, PARTY records  
Membership records (usually when going underground)  
NO MEMBERS—PARTY MEMBERS DO NOT SIGN papers with their  
own names ONLY INITIALS and NUMBERS ARE USED  
BIOGRAPHICAL DOCUMENTATION (CARDS)

C. The Financial Problem (illegal more expensive collection of dues happened, travel expenses, propaganda material, paper equipment, couriers—LOOK FOR SUPPORT FROM ABROAD (see MOPR)

X. MASS SURVEY (fronts and auxiliaries) penetration and support  
The fundamental deficiency of every illegal PARTY (per Comintern) is that the ILLEGAL PARTY apparatus makes contact with the MASSES difficult—and yet, the fundamental task of the CP is to have close contact with the MASSES. There <sup>/are</sup> several methods by which the PARTY may attempt to surmount this obstacle:

A. PENETRATION AND CONTROL OF LEGAL NON-COMMUNIST PARTIES representing workers and related class elements. This has only limited possibilities—repression of all "progressive" and "liberal" parties (Fascism) or resistance by SOCIALISTS who lead these Parties (CP Austria versus SD Austria).

B. PENETRATION & CONTROL OF LEGAL TRADE UNIONS:  
Tactic recommended by the COMINTERN the penetration process of TU is a permanent REQUIREMENT no matter what political status of the PARTY may be.

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C. Creation of DUMMY FRONT organizations and parties

As a rule this method has little chance—except in colonial countries where they may marshall national and colonial "liberation" movements.

XI. ORGANIZATION of the C.P.F.

A. Party Center ( small, moved from city to city)

TROIKA—directing authority (Poli-Org-Propag)

RESPONSIBILITIES — NATIONAL or DEPARTMENTAL

(Illegal) — equals the — (Legal)

1. POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY—overall supervision and politedue of cadres
2. RESPONSIBLE FOR CADRES—supervision and protection of cadres; ration cards, identity cards and other documents to Party Militant
3. TECHNICAL RESPONSIBILITY—printing materials and equipment supplies and salaries
4. RESPONSIBLE FOR YOUTH
5. PROPAGANDA RESPONSIBILITY—editing of literature on national level
6. RESPONSIBLE FOR CLANDESTINE ACTION in the PUBLIC SERVICES
7. RESPONSIBLE FOR "SOLIDARITE" ; techniques for and activities for SECOURS POPULAIRE
8. RESPONSIBLE FOR INTERNEES
9. RESPONSIBLE FOR WOMEN, LABORERS, INTER-REGION PEASANTS AND ENTERPRISES

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XIV. OTHER SECRET ACTIVITIES (legal or illegal)

- A. IntraParty communications
- B. Relations with other fraternal CP's
- C. Relations with representatives of the USSR or Satellites
- D. Party finances
- E. Recruiting
- F. Intelligence and CI
- G. Cadre and organization departments, membership
- H. Party Control
- I. Systematic penetration into police, military, etc.
- J. Training of leaders
- K. Conspiratorial services: passports, couriers, etc.

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